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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2570th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 7 March 1985, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Blaise RABETAFIKA (Madagascar).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2570)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in the Middle East:
   Letter dated 25 February 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16983)

The meeting was called to order at 4.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:
Letter dated 25 February 1985 from the Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16983)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with decisions taken by the Council at its 2568th meeting, I invite the representative of Lebanon to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Israel, Qatar and the Syrian Arab Republic to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fakhoury (Lebanon) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Netanyahu (Israel), Mr. Al-Kawari (Qatar) and Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Bangladesh, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, the German Democratic Republic, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Djoudi (Algeria), Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Mr. Oramas Oliva (Cuba), Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Salah (Jordan), Mr. Al-Shaali (United Arab Emirates), Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Members of the Council have before them document S/17000, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Lebanon. I should also like to draw the attention of Council members to the following documents: S/16990 and S/16997, which contain the texts of two letters dated 26 February 1985 and 4 March, respectively, addressed to the Secretary-General by the representative of Lebanon; S/17007, containing the text of a letter dated 6 March addressed to the Secretary-General by the representative of Israel; and S/17008, containing the text of a letter dated 6 March addressed to the Secretary-General by the representative of India.

4. The first speaker is the representative of Lebanon, upon whom I now call.

5. Mr. FAKHOURY (Lebanon) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Since the Council held its first meeting on 28 February last to consider the complaint submitted by Lebanon against Israel [*2568th meeting*], there has been, as we expected, such inhuman escalation of Irael's practices and policies that massacres have been committed in holy places, as indicated in my letter dated 4 March to the Secretary-General [*S/16997*]. The Israeli occupying authorities have launched a major military operation involving almost 800 soldiers and over 50 armoured vehicles—tanks, personnel carriers, bulldozers—and surrounded and stormed the village of Ma'rakah, located south of the Litani River, where the French unit of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) is deployed. During that operation, 350 citizens were arrested and, after interrogation, 17 of them were taken to an unknown destination. The Israeli forces also destroyed four houses and one vehicle. The operation lasted for 24 hours, during which searches were carried out in and attempt to find weapons and explosives, and those searches were carried out by the Israeli authorities with all the rigour to which we have become accustomed.

6. Before leaving the village, the Israeli forces placed explosives in the Husseynieh Mosque and detonated them on 4 March, when about 200 people were inside. That explosion killed 16 people, including a small boy, and wounded 100, some of whom are in critical condition. After that explosion, the Israeli forces prevented ambulances and other first-aid vehicles from entering the village and surrounded the hospital of Jebel Aamel in the city of Tyre, which is the closest to Ma'rakah, and fired into the air for intimidation. When the French forces tried to give humanitarian aid by transferring the wounded to hospital, the Israeli forces forced their way into the hospital and struck doctors, nurses and patients.

7. We hold Israel and its occupying forces responsible for this massacre. It is a direct responsibility which they cannot shirk, as the representative of Israel has tried to do in document S/17007 of 6 March. It is hard to believe that these forces, in carrying out 24-hour searches for weapons and after having discovered, as they claimed, an arsenal that would be big enough to supply an entire military unit, did not find one large explosive such as that which destroyed Husseynieh Mosque. They even searched children's beds. Indeed, a baby had its two legs broken while sleeping in its bed when a soldier hit his crib with a rifle. The responsibility they bear is all the more serious since the explosion and the ensuing massacre were aimed at a holy place. This is a flagrant violation of the most elementary standards of international morality and of international law and instruments.

8. In condemning this atrocious crime and massacre, which is one more in a long list of Israeli massacres, Lebanon once again asks the Council to condemn these actions and practices and to take effective steps to put an immediate end to them. Once again Israel has shown that it does not respect holy places and their inviolability, and once again it has proved that it scorns the resolutions of the Council and the presence of UNIFIL in Lebanon, which is the tangible expression of those resolutions.

9. At 6 p.m. on 5 March, an Israeli armoured unit consisting of three tanks and other vehicles entered the village of Sila, where the Ghanaian UNIFIL contingent was located. The force assembled the inhabitants—men, women and children—in the village school, interrogated them, searched their homes, arrested three persons and killed one citizen. Another unidentified body was found in the same area a little later.

10. Yesterday again, news was confirmed by the UNIFIL spokesman that Israeli forces invaded the village of Bediyas, east of the town of Tyre, and searched houses, interrogated the inhabitants and detained 30 persons in a road block they set up near this town on the road between Tyre and Tayr Dibbah.

11. The Israeli forces at the same time used tank guns, mortars and heavy automatic weapons against a unit of the Lebanese army in the town of Arzai to the north of the Litani, a region which had been vacated by Israeli forces a few weeks ago. Israeli forces arrested five foreign journalists and two Lebanese journalists, including the Associated Press correspondent, on the pretext that they had already forbidden journalists in Lebanon to enter occupied areas.

12. What remains of human rights if people are not allowed to go to holy places, if people are not allowed to go to hospitals to receive care? What remains of freedom of the press and freedom of opinion if they are subjected to controls and if journalists are arrested?

13. The Council can no longer fail to discharge its responsibilities and to do justice to the Lebanese demands contained in the draft resolution we submitted the day before yesterday [*S/17000*]. If the Council does not condemn the massacres in holy places and places of worship, if it does not condemn arbitrary and inhuman practices like killing, arrest, deportation and destruction, what then should it condemn?

14. Each member of the Council has an obligation to the people of the world and to history. The Government and the people of Lebanon want the Council to adopt a draft resolution in keeping with its responsibilities and to follow the example of the non-aligned countries, which have fully and unhesitantingly supported our claims.

15. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

16. Mr. DJOUDI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, Sir, allow me on behalf of the Algerian delegation to express to you warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of March. We are particularly pleased to see you presiding over the work of the Council because you represent a country, Madagascar, which has always distinguished itself by its unswerving support of just causes throughout the world. It is a country with which mine has particularly close relations that are all the stronger because we belong to the same continent, Africa, and to the same political movement, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. Your great competence, your knowledge of international affairs, your wisdom and your long experience guarantee that the Council will move in an enlightened direction.

17. I should like to take this opportunity to extend the congratulations of the Algerian delegation to your predecessor, the representative of India, Mr. Krishnan, who last month conducted the work of the Council with skill and knowledge that earned him everyone's respect and admiration.

18. Barely six months have passed since the last meeting of the Council on this subject [*2556th meeting*], and now the Council must once again deal with the same problem: an aggravation of the situation in Lebanon due to an escalation of Israeli violence.

19. Once again the victim and the aggressor are well known; once again the Council must face up to its responsibility; once again it is called upon to act in accordance with its mandate under the Charter of the United Nations.

20. The representative of Lebanon, who spoke in the Council last week [*2568th meeting*] and has today addressed it again, has described to the Council the untold hardship afflicting his people in the south of the country since the Israeli invasion and in particular since the Zionist forces announced their redeployment plan.

21. In occupied southern Lebanon, horror has become a daily reality. Every day brings with it a toll of dead, wounded and deported. Every day there are frightening images of killing and/or destruction. Every day peaceful villages are attacked and besieged, houses searched, plundered or destroyed, the inhabitants—men, women, old persons and children—mistreated, tortured, arrested or summarily killed.

22. Barely had one meeting of the Council ended on this subject when the Zionist occupying troops—knowing it could do so with impunity—raided the small village of Maarakah, sowing death and destruction, brutally opposing the soldiers of UNIFIL, who were literally threatened and prevented from helping the wounded, and forbidding, for very good reasons, the presence of journalists.

23. Two days later, a new stage in the escalation of provocation was reached: the Mosque of Maarakah was blown up at the very time when inside it women, children and old people were receiving food after days of going without food as a result of the invasion. Fourteen were killed, and about 100 were wounded. That is the terrible toll of the massacre, which nothing could justify and which only illustrates, if that were necessary, the savagery of the Zionists. That is the iron fist of which, with their customary arrogance, the aggressors themselves often boast.

24. This is undoubtedly a new challenge to the authority of the Council and, beyond the Council, to the whole international community.

25. This is a tragic and revolting situation to which Israel has added an astonishing dimension with its boldness and its lack of decency: as it announces the withdrawal of its occupying troops, it also tries to regain the support of world public opinion by claiming that this decision to withdraw is an act of goodwill for which the international community should be grateful to it. But the massacre of Lebanese people shows that the occupier may be prepared to leave in defeat just as it entered as an invader: over the bodies of the anonymous heroes of an indomitable resistance.

26. It is therefore to be hoped that the Council will take a clear approach to the situation and decide on appropriate means to deal with the aggressor and, finally, to put an end to its undertaking.

27. The Council, the primary body having the formidable responsibility for the maintenance of peace, is once again called upon to act because of the seriousness of events in southern Lebanon.

28. The representative of Lebanon has demanded that the Council ensure justice. He has asked it to express its grave concern over the Israeli military operations and to demand that Israel put an end to those operations; to condemn Israel and denounce its acts, which are contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international conventions, in particular the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] to reaffirm the importance of implementation of its resolutions, beginning with resolution 425 (1978) and 426 (1978), as well as its subsequent resolutions, in particular resolution 508 (1982) and 509 (1982); to reaffirm the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and their applicability to the territories occupied by Israel in southern Lebanon and the obligation of the occupying Power to respect it and to affirm respect for Lebanon's sov reignty, independence and integrity. Those are legitimate requests, in view of the necessary restoration of all the sovereign rights of an independent State.

29. For its part, Algeria has never withheld its support for the Lebanese Government and people in their hardships during these many years. We fully support these claims, and we wish to express here all our admiration and respect for the heroic resistance of the Lebanese people, who, like the Palestinian people, have given the Israeli occupier unforgettable lessons in courage and bravery.

30. Algeria here and now also reaffirms its firm attachment to Lebanon's independence, sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized boundaries.

31. Lebanon's full authority over its entire territory must be restored, which in turn requires the total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon, in keeping with Council resolution 509 (1982).

32. The daily plight of the Lebanese people, who have been subjected to foreign occupation for many painful years now, could have become insufferably and tragically banal if the occupier, by the very nature of its policy and the ferocious means by which it puts that policy into effect, had not been bent on exceeding ever more each day the limits of the intolerable. Israel, through the shedding of blood and the force of its weapons, was able to occupy some territory for a time, but it could not, either by sword or by fire, subjugate the people of th t territory. Hence, it was recently obliged to abandon that territory, which it was never able to subject to its will. That failure is the lesson to be drawn from this exemplary struggle which the Lebanese have waged for themselves and for us all. As it withdraws, the occupier attempts to exorcise this failure by large-scale, deadly reprisals carried out blindly.

33. Thus, the Lebanese, who have endured indescribable suffering, who have lost their property, who have undergone untold hardship in attempting to practise their religions, who have been the victims of one of the most aggressive mechanisms of oppression in modern times, are again witnessing horror pushed to the extreme limit. This is the horror we feel at the assassination of women, old people and children and the destruction—with the same

inhuman insensibility—of houses and places of worship. It is horror exercised against large numbers of people, in the shadow of international paralysis. It is horror which moral condemnation alone cannot affect. It is, finally, horror which should evoke, without any delay, a vigorous reaction by the international community, and particularly those among it on whom membership of this organ confers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

34. The frightful logic of Israeli expansionism, inspired by an unbridled desire for power, has taken concrete form, since its appearance in the Middle East region, in an appetite for territory that has been nourished by the heady knowledge of the many *faits accomplis* carried out with impunity. It is this impunity, as well as the blocking of all political decisions within the United Nations, that has undermined the very credibility of the Organization, and particularly of the Council.

35. Israel of course exploits this paralysis in order to pursue the aims of its lust for power, which seems to incite it to ever greater massacres, because of its failute to break the Lebanese people's national will of resistance. Indeed, at Israel's instigation, all the elements forecasting the direct events are making their voices loudly and openly heard. That is a situation which the Council cannot but view with the greatest concern. It is politically its responsibility to decide on measures to be taken, with the greatest urgency, to prevent the irreparable from happening.

36. Morally, it has no other choice, for yesterday's events at Sabra and Shatila seem to have made the world suddenly discover with stupefaction and fright that, through the dimensions of this massacre, the insane advocates of a genocidal plan had brutally revealed the barbarism that we had thought for ever banished from an international arena where peace and security could decidedly never accept the sacrifice of a people, of any people.

37. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

38. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): At the outset, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of March. We have full confidence in you, the distinguished representative of non-aligned Madagascar, and we are familiar with your experience, wisdom and dedication to peace, reflected so fully in the policies of your country.

39. I should like to congratulate also Mr. Krishnan, representative of India, on the knowledge and patience he showed in guiding the work of the Council during the month of February. His performance was in the best tradition of non-aligned India and in the best spirit of the policy of non-alignment and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which India is Chairman.

40. For almost three years, Israel has been occupying parts of Lebanon, a sovereign and independent State. This has been done under various pretexts which are unjustifiable. More than six months have passed since the Council considered Israeli practices in occupied southern Lebanon. Six months is a long time indeed for the people under the yoke of foreign occupation.

41. Numerous written complaints by Lebanon have been distributed as official documents of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The Government of Lebanon has provided in these letters a detailed and tragic chronicle of violations of elementary human rights and of inhuman practices against civilians, including the siege of villages and towns, acts of oppression, killing, detention, forced exile, demolition of houses and schools, humiliation of inhabitants, and kidnappings.

42. There is no justification for these practices, which were reported by the representative of Lebanon in his letters of 21, 25 and 26 February and 4 March [*S/16974 and Add.1, S/16990, annex, and S/16997*] and again today at this meeting of the Council.

43. In June 1982, the Council unanimously adopted a resolution demanding that Israel withdraw forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon [*resolution 509 (1982)*]. This resolution and others adopted since June 1982 on the issue of the Israeli occupation of Lebanon are, *inter alia*, ample proof that the international community refuses to reconcile itself and to become used to the use of force and to the policy of occupation and aggression.

44. In our view, the occupation does not bestow any rights upon the occupier, but rather the occupier has a sole duty: to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from the territory of another sovereign State. Any other approach undermines the basis of international peace and security as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations.

45. Let me recall here that this and other general approaches apply to the situation in Lebanon as well. One is that there can be no justification for any act which in any way limits or threatens the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of another State. Another is that it is not for a neighbour to judge whether or not a Government has under control the situation in a country and to use that as an excuse for intervention. Furthermore, no country can strengthen its security by using force against another or by occupying foreign territory. And, finally, no matter what an aggressor or occupier claims, resistance to occupation and aggression is legitimate and justified.

46. The peoples of Yugoslavia remember well the occupation of their land and the war they waged against the occupiers. It is because of our own history and of the future of all peoples that we are giving full and undivided support for the peoples fighting against aggressors.

47. We of Yugoslavia share in the wide support given to the demands of the Government of Lebanon that the inhuman practices be stopped and that Israel withdraw forthwith.

48. The non-aligned countries have a distinguished record in their defence of the sovereignty and independence of Lebanon, itself a non-aligned country. Let me recall that the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983 [*see S/15675 and Corr.1 and 2, annex*], the Ministerial Meeting of the Mediterranean States members of the Non-Aligned Movement, held at Valletta in September 1984 [*see S/16758 and Corr.1*] and the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of Non-Aligned Countries to the General Assembly at its thirty-ninth session, held in New York in October 1984 [*see S/16773, annex*] have all called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. They have also called for the implementation of Security Council resolutions, condemned the inhuman practices and pillaging of the occupation forces, and reiterated their support for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of Lebanon.

49. It was only yesterday that the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries met here in New York and reaffirmed all those positions [*see S/17008, annex*]. At the same time, the Bureau stressed the need to ensure the safety and security of civilian populations in those areas, including the Palestinian refugees. The Co-ordinating Bureau thus reaffirmed the repeated warnings and justified requests issued by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and its Chairman, Yasser Arafat, as well as by the non-aligned countries, that the lives and well-being of the Palestinian refugees should be safeguarded. Finally, and most significantly, the Bureau made an appeal to the Security Council to implement urgently the provisions of its resolutions on Lebanon.

50. We reiterate that appeal and believe that the Council will fulfil its duty and take all necessary measures to ensure that the sovereignty of a Member State is fully respected and the withdrawal of occupation forces effected without delay.

51. Mr. VERMA (India): At the outset I should like to extend my felicitations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of March. It gives us particular pleasure to see in the Chair the representative of Madagascar, a friendly and fellow non-aligned country. We share the conviction that this Council is richer for your varied diplomatic experience, your personal qualities and your wise counsel, and that, under your able leadership, it will be able to address itself effectively to the question now before us.

52. The Council is meeting once again to consider the tragic situation prevailing in southern Lebanon, the western Bekaa and the Rashaya district. We have listened with close attention to the statement of the representative of Lebanon. He has given us a moving account of the untold sufferings of the hapless civilian population in the Lebanese territories occupied by Israel. He has also brought to the notice of the Council, in numerous communications addressed to the Secretary-General, information on the continuing Israeli operations and practices in the area. We have been shocked to hear of the latest Israeli acts in the village of Maarakah, which resulted in numerous casualties and injuries. The actions of the Israeli occupying authorities are in clear violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] and the norms of international law.

53. It is indeed appropriate that the Council, which is entrusted under the Charter with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should take upon itself the task of finding ways and means of ameliorating the serious situation which could have wider repercussions for peace and stability in the region.

54. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has been deeply concerned over the grave situation prevailing in southern Lebanon. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, reaffirmed its support for the safety of Lebanon, its territorial integrity, independence and its right to exercise its sovereignty throughout its territory within its internationally recognized boundaries. The Conference also called upon all States to support Lebanon in the implementation of Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) in order to ensure the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territories. Those principles were reaffirmed at the Meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegation of Non-Aligned Countries to the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, held in New York in October 1984 [*see S/16773, annex*].

55. The Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries held an urgent meeting in New York yesterday, 6 March, to consider the Israeli practices in the areas occupied by Israel in southern Lebanon, the western Bekaa and the Rashaya district. The Bureau unanimously adopted a communiqué expressing its grave concern at the deteriorating situation, which threatens peace and security in the area as a result of Israeli practices against the civilian population. I should like to quote the following extracts from that communiqué:

> "The Bureau condemned the Israeli practices and measures against the civilian population in southern Lebanon, the western Bekaa and the Rashaya district which are in violation of the rules and principles of international law, in particular the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention.
>
> ". . . The Bureau called on the Security Council urgently to implement its resolutions on Lebanon, particularly resolutions 425 (1978), 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), to ensure Israel's immediate and unconditional withdrawal from the Lebanese territories to the internationally recognized borders. The Bureau reiterated its support for Lebanon's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity.
>
> "The Bureau expressed its support for the efforts of the Government of Lebanon to extend its authority over all of its territory and for its determination to

restore peace and order in the areas to be evacuated by Israel and to ensure the safety and security of the civilian populations in those areas, including the Palestinian refugees in the camps.

"The Bureau affirmed that the provisions of the fourth Geveva Convention applied to the territories occupied by Israel in southern Lebanon, the western Bekaa and the Rashaya district and that the occupying Power is duty-bound to respect and uphold the provisions of the said Convention and of other norms of international law. It demanded that Israel, the occupying Power, desist forthwith from its illegal and abusive practices against the civilian population in these areas in violation of the fourth Geneva Convention and other norms of international law and immediately lift all restrictions and obstacles to the restoration of normal conditions in the areas under its occupation." [*S/17008, annex.*]

56. Since the Israeli aggression against Lebanon in 1982, the situation in Lebanon has come up for consideration by the Council on several occasions. Memories of the atrocities committed by Israel against the innocent Lebanese and Palestinian peoples and of the genocidal massacres of Sabra and Shatila still haunt our minds. It must be ensured that there is no repetition of such acts. Israel should be made to discharge its obligations under the Geneva Conventions[2] and the norms of international law. We call for the speedy implementation of Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) in order to ensure the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territories.

57. On 14 January 1985, Israel announced its unilateral three-phase plan for the withdrawal or redeployment of Israeli forces in Lebanon. It is important that Israel indicate the exact and full time-frame for its complete withdrawal plan, to permit the resumption of the Naqoura talks under United Nations auspices with a view to securing, without further delay, a peaceful and orderly withdrawal of Israeli forces from all of Lebanon. In this context, I should like to express our appreciation of the Secretary-General's initiative for the Naqoura talks, and of the role of UNIFIL in the area.

58. The continuing conflict in the Middle East remains the most serious threat to peace. The tragedy in Lebanon is a symptom of that malaise. No solution of the problem of Lebanon can be divorced from our search for a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East, which must be based on the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable national and human rights.

59. The Government and the people of India have been profoundly anguished over the tragic events in Lebanon. On the basis of the facts which have been placed before the Council, it is beyond doubt that responsibility for the hardships of the civilian population in southern Lebanon rests with the Israeli authorities.

60. My Government fully supports Lebanon's just demand, as outlined in the draft resolution submitted by Lebanon [*S/17000*]. The Council must act decisively and with a sense of purpose to halt Israeli aggression and intransigence. We hope that the Council will discharge this responsibility with a view to putting an end to the tragedy of Lebanon.

61. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): First of all, Sir, I want to stress that it is truly a great pleasure for us to see you, the representative of the friendly State of Madagascar, recently elected to membership of the Council, occupying the presidential Chair. We have no doubt that your well-known professional qualities and your high degree of authority will enable you to guide the work of the Council in an exemplary manner.

62. We wish also to convey to the representative of India, Mr. Krishnan, our gratitude for the very skilful way in which he guided the Council's work in February. His tenure as President coincided with the shortest month of the year, but that month was by no means an easy one from the point of view of the problems which had to be dealt with.

63. Since this is the Soviet delegation's first statement this year, we wish to offer our congratulations to the newly elected members of the Council. We are certain that they will make a worthy contribution to carrying out the responsible functions vested in the Council by the Charter of the United Nations. We wish at the same time to express our gratitude to our five colleagues who have completed their two-year terms as members of the Council, and to wish them every success in their further activities, both within the United Nations and outside it.

64. I should like finally to welcome to our midst the new representative of France, Mr. Claude de Kemoularia, and the new representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Oudovenko, and to wish them all success in their endeavours.

65. The Soviet delegation fully supports the urgent request made by Lebanon to the Council in connection with Israel's provocative actions in the southern regions of that country, which it now occupies. The persuasive statement made here by the representative of Lebanon and the facts which he adduced may with full justice be termed a powerful indictment of the Israeli occupiers.

66. For three years now, Israeli troops have held sway on Lebanese soil. The Israeli occupation has already caused incalculable suffering and privation for hundreds of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians.

67. A day does not pass without news reaching us from southern Lebanon about the acts of outright violence and terror which are systematically carried out by the occupying forces against the local civilian populations, and the already long list of casualties continues to grow.

68. Recently, massive repression against the Lebanese population has been greatly escalated. The occupiers have imposed what is nothing less than a blockade of Lebanon's southern regions and have perpetrated there a bloody mas-

sacre, in full accord with their publicly proclaimed "iron fist" policy. Available information shows that dozens of local inhabitants have fallen victim to Israeli violence. The number of inmates of but one concentration camp—the notorious Ansar camp—already exceeds 1,500. In essence, Israel has turned the whole of southern Lebanon into a vast dungeon where every day, every hour, more and more crimes are committed: opening fire on local inhabitants, mass searches and arrests, collective punishment and deportation, the blowing up of houses, and mocking the national and religious feelings of the Lebanese. Obviously, it would be hard to find any provisions or norms of international law, or of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] which have not been violated, systematically and deliberately, by the Israeli forces of occupation in Lebanon.

69. The most recent link in the concatenation of Israeli crimes are the recent events in the village of Ma'rakah, which have given rise to indignation both in Lebanon and throughout the world.

70. The Council is duty-bound to demand that Israel cease forthwith its policy of terror and violence against the population of those parts of Lebanon it occupies and that it comply with its obligations pursuant to the relevant international conventions.

71. Israel's comportment *vis-à-vis* UNIFIL has been equally provocative. We fully share the concern expressed in this connection by the Secretary-General. Quite recently, Israeli forces have frequently employed force against UNIFIL personnel that were merely attempting to put a stop to the lawless acts of the occupiers—in other words, to carry out the functions directly entrusted to them by the United Nations. It will be recalled that in the summer of 1982 Israeli tanks ostentatiously drove over the flag of the United Nations; we also know what scant respect the Israeli forces have paid to the personnel of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, subjecting hundreds of that Agency's employees to lengthy detention. In the light of those actions, the most recent episodes are further illustration of Tel Aviv's attitude towards the United Nations.

72. The Council should secure respect for the flag and the forces of the United Nations in Lebanon and insist that there be no interference in their activities, as stated in earlier resolutions, and particularly in resolution 523 (1982). UNIFIL should finally be given a chance to perform the duties entrusted to it by the Council; otherwise, it is legitimate to wonder what the purpose of its presence in that country is.

73. The Soviet delegation believes it would be desirable for the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed on a regular basis with regard to the state of affairs in the UNIFIL deployment area and of all instances in which that Force is not in a position to perform its functions.

74. What has caused this wanton orgy of violence against the civilian population in southern Lebanon? The answer is quite clear to any unbiased observer. Israel is reaping in Lebanon the fruits of its own adventurist, near-sighted and dangerous policy. Time is the most impartial and objective judge, and time has completely removed the camouflage under which Israel has attempted to conceal its aggressive designs in Lebanon. It is quite natural and logical that Lebanese patriots should valiantly rise up to protect their homeland, and today the soil of Lebanon is literally on fire beneath the feet of the usurpers.

75. Judging by the facts, however, this elementary lesson has not yet been fully absorbed in Tel Aviv. There, they continue to juggle worn-out labels, writing off all problems as "terrorism", although it is clear to everyone that terrorism, particlarly on a State-wide level, State terrorism, is precisely what Israel is practising on Lebanese soil.

76. It should be recalled that six months ago the Council had occasion to consider the question of Israel's unlawful activities in southern Lebanon [*2552nd to 2556th meetings*]. We all recall quite clearly that that series of meetings concluded with the American veto cast against the minimal draft resolution submitted by the delegation of Lebanon [*S/16732*], which proposed that Israel should comply with the provisions of the fourth Geneva Convention, as well as with other basic norms of international humanitarian law. The present Israeli reign of terror in Lebanon is, to a large extent, a direct consequence of the attitude taken by the United States, as well as of the entire policy of Washington, which is aimed at giving every encouragement and support to its junior strategic partner.

77. There is only one way to settle the Lebanese problem, and that is clearly set forth in the unanimously adopted Security Council resolutions—I repeat, unanimously adopted—508 (1982) and 509 (1982), by which the Council demanded that Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon.

78. In this connection, the Soviet delegation would like to emphasize once again that the implementation of the resolutions of the Council is a matter of principle if we truly desire this body effectively to perform the functions entrusted to it under the Charter of the United Nations. It is no secret that from time to time certain delegations have not been averse to thinking aloud about possible ways and means to enhance the effectiveness of the Council's work and about their own dedication to the Charter. However, it can I think be said that Lebanon is a very striking example of how such statements fade into mirages as soon as a real need to ensure the implementation of our resolutions arises. The immediate and unconditional implementation of resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982)—unanimously adopted by the Council—is the only reliable key to a solution of the Lebanese problem. It is only in that way that we can or should put an end to the protracted Israeli occupation of Lebanon.

79. Mr. BASSOLE (Burkina Faso) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the delegation of Burkina Faso is pleased to see an eminent son of a fraternal and friendly country, Madagascar, with which my country has special

ties of friendship and co-operation, guiding the meetings of the Council during this third month of the year. Your very rich experience, your wisdom and your qualities as an experienced diplomat, which are recognized by all, ensure the full success of our work.

80. I should also like, through you, Sir, to thank your predecessor, Mr. Krishnan, the representative of India, who conducted the Council's work with his characteristic competence.

81. Once again the Council and the international community as a whole are faced with a challenge from Israel. Israel is not only refusing to submit a comprehensive plan for the withdrawal of its troops from South Lebanon, a region it has illegally occupied, thereby raising doubts about its true intentions; it is also massacring the civilian populations and destroying entire towns and villages.

82. The international community and the Council must, first and foremost, vigorously condemn this vandalism by the Israeli troops and, above all, take the action necessary to put an end to such barbaric acts forthwith. Facts brought to the attention of the Council show that these Israeli troops have no respect for the elementary principles of human rights.

83. As I said on 4 September 1984 in the Council [*2555th meeting*], the Israeli authorities must scrupulously respect the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and other international instruments, in particular the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] the Hague Conventions II of 1899 and IV of 1907 respecting the laws and customs of war on land[3] and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

84. It is time for Israel to abide by the relevant resolutions and decisions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly by withdrawing from southern Lebanon and by facilitating the peaceful and comprehensive settlement of the general issue of the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations.

85. The international community has the duty firmly to support the efforts of the Secretary-General, and in particular UNIFIL, so that it can fulfil its mandate to maintain peace and security in the region. A great responsibility rests with the parties concerned, particularly the occupier, which must ensure the achievement of this objective.

86. The resumption of the Naqoura talks, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, has become necessary. In order to bring this about, the Israeli side will have to submit a complete and comprehensive plan for the withdrawal of its forces from southern Lebanon with the necessary guarantees for respect for these commitments.

87. The Government of Burkina Faso pays a tribute to the Secretary-General and his special representative for their tireless efforts to bring about a peaceful and final settlement of the question of the Middle East.

88. My country is among those that believe that the return of peace and stability to the Middle East depends on the following factors: unconditional withdrawal of Israel's occupying troops from southern Lebanon and from all occupied Arab areas; a comprehensive settlement of the Palestinian problem; and respect for the internationally recognized boundaries of all States in the region. Burkina Faso will spare no effort in contributing to the quest for a settlement that takes into account all these fundamental elements.

89. Mr. MAXEY (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I should like first to congratulate you upon your assumption of the presidency of the Council. March is barely a week old, but it has been a busy week and we have had ample confirmation already of the great personal and professional qualities which you bring to your task.

90. Our thanks are due too to your predecessor, the representative of India, Mr. Krishnan, for the wise and skilful manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Council last month.

91. Since this is my delegation's first intervention in a debate in the Council in 1985, I should also like to take the opportunity of extending a warm welcome to those members who joined us at the beginning of the year. At the same time, we thank their predecessors for their co-operation and for their contribution to the work of the Council over the previous two years.

92. My delegation listened with dismay to the exchange of accusations between the parties in the Council last Thursday [*2568th meeting*]. It was evidence of yet another sad and violent chapter in the continuing tragedy of Lebanon.

93. Our dismay was compounded because all this had long been predicted, and responsible people had made a considerable effort to avert it. In his report of 9 October 1984, the Secretary-General warned everyone of the need to act expeditiously to take advantage of what then appeared to be a relatively favourable situation for securing the withdrawal of Israeli forces from southern Lebanon. He said:

> "If this opportunity is missed, I fear that other factors will come into play which will once again inhibit progress and that another opportunity may not present itself again soon. This, in turn, will cause a further deterioration in the situation in southern Lebanon, with disastrous consequences for the inhabitants of the region and also, in all probability, for the long-term prospects for peace in the area." [*S/16776, para. 26.*]

94. This warning has now proved all too regrettably correct. Instead of agreed arrangements for a peaceful and orderly Israeli withdrawal, we now see increasing violence and bloodshed. One act of violence leads to another. As always, it is the civilian population who suffer. My Government wishes to reiterate its deep concern for that population. They have suffered grievously from continual

violence over many years and their longing for a return to peace and normality deserves the fully sympathy of the Council.

95. The Secretary-General in his press statement of 27 February drew attention to the new situation which had developed in southern Lebanon since early February. He said that, apart from the restrictions imposed upon the civilian population by the Israeli occupation, the increasing number of attacks on the Israeli forces by Lebanese resistance groups had led to a series of strong Israeli countermeasures, including cordon and search operations. The Commander of UNIFIL has reported nine such Israel Defence Forces (IDF) operations in the UNIFIL area since 6 February.

96. The representative of Lebanon, in his statements and letters to the Council, has charged that Israeli forces have laid siege to individual towns and villages, inflicting casualties and considerable suffering on the inhabitants and destruction of property. The representative of Israel, in his response, has not denied that such operations have taken place, but has sought to justify them by reference to the need to protect Israel's withdrawing soldiers. The full facts are not yet known, but we cannot but express our deep concern over this new twist to the cycle of violence in southern Lebanon. We believe that such actions will only serve further to inflame the situation and are against Israel's own long-term interests of achieving peace and security for its northern border.

97. My Government's views on the question of southern Lebanon are clear. We condemned Israel's invasion of Lebanon in June 1982. We have called for the early, complete and orderly withdrawal of all Israeli forces to the south of Lebanon's international border. We have called for the early withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, except those present at the request of the Government of Lebanon. The sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries must be strictly respected. As we told the Council last September [*2556th meeting*], it is imperative that the Israeli occupying forces scrupulously respect the international conventions on humanitarian law applicable to armed conflicts. In particular, they must respect all the provisions of the Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949.[1] Such security measures as Israel may find it necessary to institute must be designed to have the minimum effect on the lives of local inhabitants and must be strictly within the framework of the fourth Geneva Convention.

98. It is incumbent on Israel and all others concerned also to show full respect for UNIFIL and to co-operate with the Force. We share the Secretary-General's concern in this respect and his view that UNIFIL must continue to perform its present functions. We have noted with much regret the recent reports of incidents affecting the French contingent in UNIFIL. We should like to express our appreciation of the steadfast efforts made by the French contingent and the other officers and men of UNIFIL to prevent violence and protect civilians under difficult circumstances. They and their Governments deserve the thanks and support of us all.

99. I should like to recall the efforts which were made by the Secretary-General last year, with the support of my Government and that of other Governments, to find a mechanism to avert the present violent situation in southern Lebanon. We continue to believe that, given the necessary will and determination on all sides, a diplomatic solution can still be found to the problems of that area. The Governments concerned should co-operate with the Secretary-General to this end. The Naqoura talks should be reconvened without delay and every effort made to attain as soon as possible the objectives set out by the Secretary-General in his October report, of Israeli withdrawal, peace and security in the region and the restoration of Lebanese authority and sovereignty up to the internationally recognized boundary. Everything possible should be done to ensure that the withdrawal of the remaining Israeli forces is orderly and co-ordinated. The machinery of the United Nations, including UNIFIL, can play an important role in assisting this process. In the mean time, all concerned need to exercise maximum restraint so as not to impede complete Israeli withdrawal.

100. I believe that there is widespread support for such an approach in the Council. We should use this debate to advance this process, not to stoke the fires of violence in southern Lebanon. A diplomatic solution is still both right and possible. We should encourage the parties to strive for it.

101. Mr. BIERRING (Denmark): First of all I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of March. Your long experience at the United Nations, as well as the diplomatic skills you have already amply demonstrated, make us confident that your presidency will be a success.

102. I also want to pay tribute to the representative of India, Mr. Krishnan, for the excellent way in which he presided over the Council during the month of February.

103. Since this is the first time I have spoken in the Council, I should like to express my sincere thanks for the words of welcome to my country as a newcomer to the Council. It is with a sense of humility that we assume our responsibilities in the Council, but also with a strong conviction of its indispensable role in the promotion of international peace and security and with a firm resolve to render our contribution to this end.

104. My delegation listened with great attention and with deep understanding to the representative of Lebanon as he described yet another chapter in the human tragedy which still afflicts his country [*2568th meeting*]. My Government has consistently supported restoration of the full sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon. These principles were reiterated at the meeting of the European Council at Dublin in December 1984, and the Ten recalled their belief that this can be effected only in circumstances in which all foreign forces are withdrawn from the

country except those whose presence is requested by the Lebanese Government.

105. Denmark has always maintained that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon is in contravention of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that Israel should withdraw its forces forthwith and unconditionally in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Council. My Government therefore welcomed the decision of the Government of Israel to withdraw its forces from Lebanon, thus bringing to an end its prolonged occupation of Lebanese territory.

106. We have urged the Lebanese and Israeli Governments to show flexibility in establishing security arrangements in southern Lebanon and to do everything possible to prevent new acts of violence in the whole area of the Israeli withdrawal.

107. After the completion of the first phase of the Israeli withdrawal, on 16 February, we have witnessed a worsened cycle of violence in the areas still under Israeli occupation. Apart from the restrictions imposed on the civilian population by the Israeli occupation, the increasing number of attacks on the Israeli forces by Lebanese resistance groups has led to a series of strong Israeli countermeasures, including cordon and search operations, with tragic loss of lives as a consequence. Denmark strongly deplores these developments. It reiterates the need for a speedy and total Israeli withdrawal and urges all parties to show the utmost restraint.

108. It is indeed imperative that the Israeli occupation forces uphold the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] as well as of other norms of international law. Any security precautions which Israel, as the occupying Power, may find it necessary to take must be designed to have minimum effects on the local inhabitants and must in no way conflict with Israel's obligations under the fourth Geneva Convention.

109. Developments over the last few weeks clearly indicate that the situation is rapidly deteriorating for all parties concerned. My Government therefore considers that both Lebanon and Israel should give priority to promoting an orderly and complete withdrawal of the Israeli forces. In our opinion, the main objective of the Council's deliberations should be to assist in this process. We believe that the United Nations can play an important role in this respect.

110. Denmark welcomed the negotiating process with United Nations involvement initiated at Naqoura and the efforts of the Secretary-General in implementation of Council resolution 555 (1984). We believe that the framework of the Naqoura talks would be useful in securing arrangements for a complete Israeli withdrawal and early restoration of the Lebanese Government's authority in southern Lebanon.

111. We also think that the Secretary-General and UNIFIL will, in accordance with the Council resolutions, be able to play a valuable role in the zones to be evacuated, especially as regards ensuring the safety of the inhabitants of the region and guaranteeing Lebanon's territorial integrity.

112. We have taken note with great concern of the statement by the Secretary-General on 27 February that the position of UNIFIL is becoming increasingly difficult. We should like to pay tribute to the dedication with which the Commander, officers and men of UNIFIL carry out their tasks in an extremely difficult situation.

113. While deeply sympathizing with the continuing plight of the Lebanese people, Denmark would find it difficult to support any Council action which could hamper our common objective: the speedy and orderly termination of the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon.

114. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): I too should like to begin by congratulating you, Sir, both as a representative of Madagascar, a State which has newly arrived in the Council, and as a representative of Madagascar who now serves as President of the Council, on your accession to the Council and to the presidency.

115. I should like also, of course, to congratulate the representative of India for the extraordinary skill and energy with which he conducted our Council's affairs last month and to express our confidence that the representative of Madagascar will do no less.

116. The United States also takes pleasure in welcoming the other new members of the Council—Australia, Denmark, Thailand and Trinidad and Tobago, and the new representatives of continuing members of the Council.

117. Today we in the Council are asked to address our attention to the realities of the situation in Lebanon posed by the violence and counter-violence associated with the continuing conflict inside that country among the various groups of its citizens, and also associated with the withdrawal of Israeli forces and the continuing presence of other foreign forces. These are matters of great concern to all of us. But, as the representative of the United States, I must call to the attention of the Council a matter of very special concern to my country.

118. My Government has been subjected in the past week to direct threats against its nationals in Lebanon, nationals serving in peace-keeping functions for the United Nations. Those threats have been specifically linked to our actions in the Security Council, in a gross and vile attempt to influence the participation and vote of the United States in this body.

119. The United States of course welcomes the assurances of the Government of Lebanon that it does not encourage reckless behaviour of this kind but seeks, rather, to discourage it. But none of us in the Council, and no one who values the work of the Council, can ignore the realities posed by these facts. Prior threats to the United States concerning a prior Council meeting in a not dissimilar context resulted in the grievous loss of American and Lebanese lives. I should like to remind the Council briefly of these facts.

120. A telephone message was received by the Agence France-Presse office in Beirut on 8 September 1984. The caller, claiming to be the representative of the so-called Islamic Jihad organization, said that that organization would strike very shortly at key American interests in the Middle East. The caller said that his organization's members were prepared to sacrifice their lives to destroy American or Zionist institutions of even secondary importance. The caller also said that President Reagan's Administration had demonstrated its contempt for Moslems when it had vetoed, on 6 September [*2556th meeting*], the draft resolution that had been submitted by Lebanon [*S/16732*].

121. On 20 September 1984, at 11.30 a.m. Beirut time, a van approached the northern entrance access road to the American Embassy annex in the suburb of Awkar, northeast of Beirut. The annex is located on a residential street blocked at both ends by barricades. The driver of the van opened fire on the guards at the barricades, disabling some of them. Under fire from other guards, the vehicle manoeuvred through the barricades and proceeded towards the Embassy building, where it was stopped by firing 20 feet short of the northern end of the building, still outside the compound proper, and at that point it detonated. The building was severely damaged. Two American employees of the Embassy and 10 Lebanese employees were killed in the explosion. Some 59 employees and visitors were injured, 18 of them seriously enough to require hospitalization.

122. This time, in this not dissimilar context, as the Council considers once again a complaint of the Government of Lebanon against Israel, the United States has received three specific threats, which I should like to review with the Council.

123. On 8 February 1985, Observer Group Lebanon (OGL) Headquarters received a report from a senior United States United Nations military observer of a threat against United States officers serving with the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in South Lebanon, if the United States vetoed the Lebanese draft resolution.

124. On 1 March, a United States officer serving with the OGL informed OGL Headquarters of a second threat to American officers serving with the United Nations force in South Lebanon. This threat was passed on to American members of the "Team Tyre" by a regular contact, whose reporting was considered to be generally reliable. We have no evidence that this threat and the previous threat were connected.

125. On 5 March, United Nations officials in Lebanon received a threat from an important Amal representative against Security Council members who used their veto on the Lebanese draft resolution. Specifically, a United Nations military official in Lebanon was told that countries which use their right of veto in the Council will "face strong problems". The United States and the United Kingdom were specifically mentioned. Other, less specific, threats have also been received in the period of the past week.

126. The bitter legacy of the previous experience with violence in Lebanon, linked explicitly by threatening callers to Security Council action, lingers—presumably for all members of the Council and for all persons concerned with world order.

127. I think it is important that the Council take a moment to consider the ingredients of minimal world order. The Charter of the United Nations tells us that its central tenet must be freedom from fear, freedom from threats against the territorial integrity or political independence of a State, freedom from threats against any Member of the United Nations—certainly against any member of the Security Council. This, one would have thought, is axiomatic, since the peril that arises from violations of this basic rule is readily apparent. Obviously, the Council cannot function effectively to maintain international peace and security, or even to seek to do so, if its members are subjected to the use and threat of violence.

128. It has been suggested informally in recent days by certain persons in the Council that such threats are of little consequence and should not stand in the way of the pressing business of the Council. But I should like to suggest that the Council has no more pressing business than maintaining its own processes, free from intimidation and violence.

129. I should like to be clear: the United States does not seek a pretext to raise the issue of terrorist threats. The United States does not seek to avoid discussion of the situation in Lebanon. Quite to the contrary, the United States stands ready to discuss and to join in constructive action on Lebanon's problems. For this reason, we urged at the last meeting of the Council on this item [*2568th meeting*] a resumption of direct talks between military representatives of Israel and Lebanon at Naqoura, in order to facilitate a more peaceful Israeli withdrawal. For this reason, we have strongly supported the Secretary-General's recommendations concerning the restoration of peace in the area.

130. On instructions from my Government, I brought our concerns about threats to American personnel to the attention of the Secretary-General, and the United Nations Headquarters saw fit, on the basis of its own review of the situation, to call for the withdrawal of United States personnel from United Nations peace-keeping forces in Lebanon. I should like to emphasize that the United States has been and continues to be a warm and active supporter of United Nations peace-keeping functions in Lebanon and outside it, and we have consistently sought in the past two years to enlarge the role of United Nations observers and United Nations peace-keeping forces in Lebanon.

131. We cannot imagine a greater chilling effect on the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations or on the free exchange of ideas, the discussion, debate and decision processes of the Council than threats and use of violence. No process of discussion, debate, compromise and rational decisions-making can possibly take place under the threat of violence. This body is therefore directly threatened by

threats against any member of the Council in relationship to any process of the Council.

132. The United States remains committed to rational discussion, debate and decision-making by the Council. We remain committed to the Council's work in seeking a solution to Lebanon's continuing agony. Our own goals with regard to Lebanon are clear: they are the withdrawal of all foreign forces—for which we have voted repeatedly, and which we have repeatedly urged; a stable and secure Lebanese-Israeli border—for which we have worked from the time of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) down to the present day; and the extension of Central Government authority over all Lebanese territory, including the south.

133. The United States welcomed the announcement of the second phase of the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, which marks a further step in Israel's plan for full withdrawal. The United States is convinced that the best hope for peace and security for the people of southern Lebanon will be a rapid and co-ordinated Israeli withdrawal, resulting in the restoration of Lebanese Government sovereignty and control over the region and, indeed, the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon and the restoration of the full sovereignty of the Government of Lebanon in all its territory.

134. In this regard, the United States has repeatedly called on all parties to exercise restraint and to seek to break the violent cycle of action and reaction that has resulted in the loss of life and destruction of property, to end this human tragedy that has racked Lebanon in these recent years. We have especially urged the parties to take advantage of the Naqoura process as the best means of arranging these desirable ends.

135. There is a cycle of violence in Lebanon. That cycle of violence is fed by unbalanced, unfair resolutions, as by terrorism, aggression, retribution and hate. The most pressing question before the Council today is whether the cycle of violence that has racked Lebanon will be permitted to spread to the Council itself, endangering this last enclave in which the parties to conflict may come and seek a hearing from the nations of the world.

136. The Council can function only if the parties to conflict respect the right of all members to speak and vote according to their best interests and their best judgement. No member of the Security Council, of the General Assembly or indeed of any United Nations body is safe if intimidation, coercion and violence are admitted into the deliberations of our institutions. The United States therefore calls on all members of the Council to repudiate the threats against the deliberative process of the Council itself.

137. Mr. HOGUE (Australia): Since this is the first occasion on which Australia has addressed the Council in its capacity as a member for 1985 and 1986, I should like at the outset to express our pleasure at having in the Chair such a capable individual and the representative of a country whose people swim in the same ocean as we do. Let me also express similar sentiments to our other Indian Ocean colleagues, Mr. Krishnan of India.

138. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank the members of the Council for their warm words of welcome which have been addressed to us in recent weeks.

139. Let me assure representatives that Australia takes its responsibilities as a member of the Council very seriously. Australia is concerned that the Council should play as effective a role as possible in discharge of its responsibilities as the organ with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. We believe that the Council should play a constructive role in anticipating problems and working to avert or to solve them. To this end, we believe that resolutions adopted by the Council should deal with issues in a balanced, constructive and forward-looking manner.

140. Our approach to the problem before the Council has been guided by these general considerations as well as by some particular considerations which apply to the situation now before the Council. These are: there should be strict respect for the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon, within its internationally recognized boundaries.

141. Australia deplores all acts of violence in Lebanon, especially those with endanger civilian lives; Australia has consistently called for the withdrawal from Lebanon of all foreign forces, except those in Lebanon at the request of the Lebanese Government—and that remains our position.

142. Australia welcomes the intention of Israel to begin to withdraw its forces and believes that a complete withdrawal according to an agreed timetable is essential. Australia therefore supports the Secretary-General's call for the reconvening of the Naqoura talks as a means of achieving this objective.

143. Australia recognizes that Israeli forces in withdrawing have been subject to attacks and that some Israel Defence Forces actions might have been undertaken in self-defence. On the other hand, other of their actions appear to have been severe, and cause us concern because of their severity. In this regard, there should be strict respect for the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,[1] and for the rights of the civilian population.

144. Australia continues to support the role of UNIFIL in the difficult environment in which it is required to function. All acts of violence against UNIFIL, from whatever quarter, are to be deplored.

145. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

146. Mr. RAJAIE-KHORASSANI (Islamic Republic of Iran): I take refuge in God from Satan, the Accursed. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful,

> "Oh, my Lord! Open my heart and ease my task for me, and loose a knot from my tongue so that they may understand my saying."[4]

I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency and particularly on the masterly manner in which you have been conducting the affairs of the Council.

147. I would also congratulate Mr. Krishnan of India who, during the month of February, carried out the heavy responsibilities of President of the Council with great efficiency and diplomatic skill.

148. Once again comes the Council to Lebanon, which was the victim of Zionist air raids, acts of aggression, crimes and atrocities even long before its occupation by the Zionist army. Lebanon is now the holy land of struggle and resistance. Moslem people of Lebanon—absolutely disappointed with all the pompous labels of such paralysed international bodies as the Security Council, and knowing that the Council is no less a victim of Zionist infiltration and hegemony than Lebanon itself—have decided to defend themselves both against internal default elements which have been collaborating with the aggressor enemy and against the aggressor Zionist army, all at the same time.

149. The task of the Lebanese people—of Lebanon's champions—who are the pride of the history of Islam and of the contemporary Islamic movement in the region, then, must be very heavy indeed. The Zionist army has always been the best equipped with the most recent war technology of the West, especially with that of the United States. It has always been well fed with billions of dollars, taken in pennies from American taxpayers, many of whom have from time to time gone on strike because of low pay, and all of whom have to carry the burden of the United States budget deficit, not knowing how much of that deficit comes from unreserved American support for the Zionist aggressor army.

150. The Zionist army has always been thought of as invincible. But the people of Lebanon have given it such a maddening lesson that it does not know what it is doing when it kills innocent worshippers in their sanctuaries—or why it is doing it. Where are the honest, adamant supporters of human rights when it comes to commenting on the many Sabras and Shatilas and Deir Yassins being chalked up by the Nazi army of Israel?

151. In the *Washington Post* of 21 February, Richard Homan says that

> "The International Commission of Jurists charged yesterday that the Israeli army has harshly mistreated prisoners at its detention centre in the occupied West Bank and is using it as an 'intimidation centre' in which 'confessions are manufactured'."

152. Mary Curtius reported in *The Christian Science Monitor* of 1 February that

> "Israeli military authorities are using a West Bank prison as an 'intimidation centre' where prisoners are sometimes beaten and tortured, lawyers have alleged".

153. As the Zionist atrocities continue to increase, the scenes of the crimes show the further uncontrolled madness of the Zionist criminals. In another article published in *The Christian Science Monitor* of 25 February, Jim Muir reports that

> "Any houses where arms or suspects are found are bulldozed. Several dozen villagers are usually taken for questioning. None has yet returned . . . 'They came in with tanks and troops, shooting everywhere,' one said. All the men between 14 and 60 were taken to the village school for interrogation. They took police dogs into the houses where the women were."

The same article reports that

> "When the village sheikh tried to explain to the Israelis that they were turning the whole people against them, they shouted at him to get back in line . . . 'The Israelis were weighed down with arms, but they were more frightened of us than we were of them. We laughed at them'."

154. In an article in *The New York Times* of 25 February, John Kifner reported that

> "Israeli soldiers besieged at least nine shiite Moslem villages in southern Lebanon today, continuing their crackdown on the underground resistance.
>
> ". . .
>
> "Israel initiated what its Defence Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, called an 'iron fist policy'."

To show their "iron fist",

> "Columns of Israelis backed by armoured personnel carriers and tanks have surrounded and entered a string of Shiite villages just east of Tyre that have been centres of rebellion. They rounded up all the men of the villages for questioning, carried off suspected Shiite guerrillas and bulldozed or blew up houses".
>
> ". . .
>
> "Details of the Israeli action are coming out slowly because the Israelis have kept Beirut-based foreign journalists out of the area and have closed the smaller roads between the villages, hindering local communications."

The scope of Zionist crimes continued to widen, according to Mr. Kifner's article:

> "The Red Cross said today that the Israeli forces had put 112 new prisoners into the Ansar prison camp in

southern Lebanon since the middle of this month, raising the number held there to 1,602. Under normal practices, however, prisoners are often held and interrogated in several other places before being transferred to Ansar.

"The Shiite imam, or religious leader, of the village of Burj al Shemali, who was seen being carried off by Israeli soldiers during a raid last week, was found today by a shepherd in an abandoned well. He was taken to a hospital run by United Nations forces."

155. Following an article by Ihsan Hijazi entitled "Blast in Lebanon Kills 15 in Mosque", *The New York Times* of 5 March reported a piece of news from Reuters about a hospital in Tyre, southern Lebanon, saying:

"Hospital officials here asserted today that Israeli troops stormed this city's main hospital, beat its director and seized people waiting to give blood for victims of the explosion in Marakah.

"They said Israeli troops seized at least eight people at gunpoint as they were about to give blood for those wounded by the blast in the village."

156. Such ravaging and murderous atrocities made the Lebanese Moslems hold a procession, about which a reporter of *The New York Times* wrote on 6 March:

"Chanting 'Death to Israel!' and 'America, the Great Satan!' thousands of Moslem demonstrators marched through the streets of West Beirut today to protest the death of 15 people in a bomb blast in a Shiite village in southern Lebanon."

157. Since the Council is supposedly so committed to the maintenance of international peace and security, the Council must have been following the development of such events in Lebanon with serious concern and moment by moment. Therefore, to quote much more of the criminal record of the Zionist entity in this chamber is unnecessary and redundant. It is particularly so because some conscientious States members of the Council know pretty well that their own hands too are deep up to the elbows in the blood of the Lebanese Moslems.

158. The basic question before the Council is not why it has been watching all these terrorist criminal acts in cold blood. The answer to that question, considering the presence of the Zionist supporters in the Council, is quite clear. The basic and enlightening question is whether, during the two years of occupation of Lebanon by the Zionist forces, anything has happened to international peace and security or not. Was the sleeping conscience of the guardians of international peace and security bothered at all? Is it not the case that each one of us has been sleeping fairly well despite the blatant and continued violation of international peace and security? Is it not true that for all these two painfully slow-moving years, every hour of which has lasted longer for the Moslems of Lebanon than a year for the Council, only the brave Moslems of Lebanon have been sacrificing to the last drop of their blood in the defence of international peace and security? Do you not agree that, ever since the enemies of mankind installed this dirty boil of a Zionist base in the bottom of Palestine, international peace and security have vanished from our region, and that therefore those who have come together here to defend the safety of the expanding borders of Israel have continuously been betraying the cause of peace and violating the Charter of the United Nations? Do you therefore not agree that they are bloody liars who have sent their Zionist agents to our region in order to devastate, occupy and plunder?

159. Among the millions of Arabs and hundreds of millions of Moslems, only the people of Lebanon, thanks to their genuine commitment to the liberating faith of Islam, have taken it upon themselves to demonstrate a historic record of resistance, determination and struggle. For the first time, they have defeated the champion of the 1967 Six-Day War.

160. The representative of Egypt, who is now attending the Council and who remembers the size of the Arab army in the 1967 war, can well appreciate how great the achievement of the Moslem people of Lebanon is. Of all national and international entities which have been somehow pertinent to the Arab-Israeli conflict and who have wished to be known as adversaries of the Zionist invaders, only the Moslem people of Lebanon have proved victorious under the banner of Islam.

161. We think the international Organization—and particularly the Security Council—is deeply indebted to the people of Lebanon for their struggles against Zionist invasion. They have fought bravely for the cause of peace and independence. They are the supporters of the Charter, not those who produce rhetoric here. With an Islamic determination they have punished the Zionist aggressor and those behind it. They are thus paying the heavy price of that lawful punishment they have brought, and that they shall, by the grace of God, continue to bring to the Zionist enemy. And, at the peak of this struggle of crime and punishment, we all of a sudden observe a desperate diplomatic move by dignitaries of Arabia towards further surrendering to the Zionist enemy. Instead of allowing the Arab Moslems under their yoke to be free to join the resistance forces of Lebanon, they move about from one capital to another like idiots to spread further and strengthen the miserable Camp David Accords. In a recent declaration the Foreign Ministry of the Islamic Republic of Iran, while forewarning the international community of the potential dangers involved in the recent moves made by the régime governing Jordan and other reactionary Arab régimes of the region, expressed the belief that the slogan being publicized by those reactionary figures of peace in return for a piece of land is but a lie and an open and explicit trick to compel the States of the region to negotiate with and recognize the Zionist enemy régime.

162. The long history of aggression and massacre of the régime occupying Al-Quds clearly indicates that this régime is content with nothing less than total domination over all the Islamic lands, from the Nile to the Euphrates, and complete eradication of every Islamic manifestation in the

region, and it also indicates that no solution but force can return even one foot of Islamic land to its real owners, who are the oppressed Moslem people of Palestine.

163. It is most regrettable that many Arab rulers have chosen to cope peacefully with the evil of zionism instead of returning to and relying on their Islamic heritage and identity. Otherwise, many of those whose mercenaries have been helping President Saddam Hussein against us would not have left the Moslem people of Lebanon alone.

164. I would like to address myself to all the Arab delegates present in this chamber and ask: are the people of Lebanon not fighting the historically and internationally recognized enemy of the Arabs? Are the people of Lebanon not Moslems, and is their enemy not the Zionist *Kuffar* who have occupied the Moslem land of Palestine and the Islamic sanctuaries? Why then do the Arab rulers, instead of helping them, conspire against them and work for the expansion of the Camp David Accords? Does it not mean that together these rulers are acting like enemies of Islam? And, furthermore, does it not make it evident that the entire struggle in the Middle East is a confrontation between Islam and *Kuffar*?

165. The records of the Council and its governing principles show that those who can maintain their interest outside the Council in the real world can also maintain their interest inside this chamber, and those who are blindly fascinated by the material glamour of satanic worldly Powers, and have therefore adopted servility to them outside the United Nations, remain surrogate and tributary to those Powers inside this chamber too.

166. Therefore, until and unless the Moslem nations bring together all their potential in a united Islamic front, they are bound to be scared of Islam—as the enemies of Islam are—and will not be able to contribute to human society all the good and happiness that Islam requires them to contribute. When Moslems identify themselves with anything other than Islam, then their new, artificial, insecure identity fearfully departs from Islam and anything Islamic. It is this fear of Islam and the Islamic revolution—as today's article by Karen Elliot in *The Washington Post* says—that encouraged certain Arab nations, including Iraq, to hearken to Egypt's call for a broader Arab-Israeli peace.

167. My first proposal is to our Arab brothers in the region who have mistaken the problem for the solution. Islam—I do not need to assure them—is the solution and not the problem, and a broader Arab-Israeli peace is only the problem and surely not the solution.

168. To the Council—if it really wants to play "Security Council"—my proposal is a strong and straightforward draft resolution which condemns the Zionist aggressor for its recent crimes, as well as for its illegal occupation of Lebanese territory, which has gone on for far too long, and requires the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Zionist forces from all the occupied territories. I believe that the present draft resolution [*S/17000*] contains these two very important points of concern to my Government. We also hope that the professional vetoers will this time try to take sides with the Arabs, who have both plenty of cheap oil and a lucrative market, and not with the Zionist base, which up to now—apart from a very heavy load of military and financial bills—has brought nothing to the United States other than deep animosity and hatred by the people of the Middle East.

169. Finally, the Islamic régime in Iran, owing to its Islamic quality, is always blamed for all the Islamic developments in the region, and particularly in Lebanon. In putting the blame on the Islamic Republic of Iran, they do not intend to make propaganda for Iran as a powerful Islamic State on which the oppressed can rely and which the arrogant Powers fear. They wish rather to discredit the Moslem people of Lebanon, as if others besides Iran are neither entitled nor committed to Islam.

170. Let me assure those concerned that, first of all, Islam is nobody's monopoly. All people, including our brothers in Lebanon, are equally entitled to Islam. Secondly, as soon as a nation like Lebanon refreshes its commitment to Islam it will continue its constructive liberating role, independently of the Islamic Republic of Iran and immediately on the basis of Islam and according to it. Those who think otherwise are ignorant of Islam. What we are observing in Lebanon is simply the light of Islam, which has happily enlightened a portion of the tiny population of Lebanon, who have resolutely decided powerfully to cleanse their Islamic homeland of the darkness of zionism and imperialism. Nothing can stop them. I am afraid the more one tries to extinguish this light, the more it flares up. The best advice to the enemy is to leave the area peacefully—though it is not very easy to carry out this advice.

171. I am told that the Israeli currency is in this situation: one fourth of it used to be equal to one dollar, but nowadays more than 9,000 of it hardly makes a dollar. Airline tickets in Israel are to be paid for in dollars, and that is a problem. It means that if the Ashkenazi Jews sell all their property and real estate, they can hardly get a return ticket to Brooklyn. It also means that even for those return tickets the poor American farmer has to pay.

172. Secondly, to my Arab brothers I wish to reiterate that the Zionist base is a balloon-beast, full of air. Do not fear it. It is nothing. It is already beaten and defeated. An American professor of politics who once came to see me—and permit me not to give his name—commented that the United States could never understand how weak and defeatable this petty Satan was.

173. I therefore hope that American officials will no longer spend on a Zionist real non-entity. They have to live with Moslems, with independent and powerful Moslems. They had better start learning to do it soon and with fewer casualities on both sides.

174. To my Arab brothers I have to reiterate that the enemy is already defeated. They do not need to fear it. Let us join together and liberate Palestine. Believe me, the beautiful flag of Palestine will soon be hoisted throughout the occupied land. The sooner we establish our united

Islamic front, the sooner the liberation of Palestine and the rest of the oppressed people will come about.

175. Since the victories of the Moslem forces in Lebanon are usually seen as the fruit of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, then I would like to make the comment that we can clearly understand why, in spite of the 12 June 1984 agreement [*see S/16611*] and the presence of the United Nations team in the two capitals, we have to be the target of huge, devastating missiles in Desful, Abadan, Ahwaz, Sari-pole-Zihab and other places.

176. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Israel. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

177. Mr. NETANYAHU (Israel): I want to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency. I also want to congratulate your predecessor, the representative of India, for his successful completion of last month's tenure.

178. Some here today have falsely and maliciously attacked my country. We have heard a vicious verbal echo of the physical attacks Israeli soldiers have endured as the Israeli army withdraws from South Lebanon.

179. For example, the Lebanese representative has again put forward the despicable charge that Israel was involved in the explosion that destroyed the Mosque in Maarakah. Let me therefore again state categorically that Israel had no involvement in that explosion whatsoever. IDF units were not even in the village at the time of the incident. It appears that this explosion took place when terrorists mishandled the triggering device and caused the explosion device to detonate.

180. In no way did IDF units prevent ambulances and other emergency vehicles from entering the hospital referred to by the Lebanese representative. In fact, the contrary is true. The IDF cleared a path to the hospital and assured access to it by dispersing a violent demonstration in front of the hospital.

181. So, apart from these and similarly preposterous charges, what are we really being accused of? I think we are attacked simply because we have the audacity to protect the lives of our men. We seek out caches of arms. We attempt to locate terrorists who are planning to attack us, or those who have already attacked us. For this we are expected to be apologetic. We are not.

182. Now, what is so striking about this selective indignation we have heard today is this: its motive is not to defend the integrity of Lebanon or the safety of its citizens but solely to attack Israel. For if the Governments that have waxed so indignant about alleged Israeli actions in Lebanon really were concerned about that country and its people, they would have at least mentioned the 60 per cent of Lebanon that remains under the Syrian yoke. I have heard many representatives here speak about the sovereignty of Lebanon, the incalculable suffering of its people. They could have mentioned the Syrian occupation, or they might have alluded to the bombs that go off endlessly in Tripoli and in Beirut, or the artillery fire that has raked Lebanon's capital in recent days.

183. This is exactly the kind of amnesia about Lebanon that we have had to endure in this forum before. When, during the previous decade of turmoil and terror, 100,000 Lebanese died—slaughtered by Syria, the PLO and by each other—we did not hear even a word from the same countries that have been busily denouncing Israel today.

184. But of course, in the Never-Never Land of anti-Israeli resolutions, reality has a way of wandering off by itself. So let me try, like a few others here, to bring reality back to this discussion.

185. We believe that if terrorists stockpile car bombs and missiles and guns to use against our soldiers and, as they have repeatedly threatened, against our civilians, we have not only a right but a duty to locate these bombs and missiles and guns before they are used against us.

186. Now, most of South Lebanon is peaceful. The people are sick of violence. They have rejected the murderous incitement of some local leaders inspired by Khomeini and directed by Syria. But a few villages, mostly in the Tyre area, have succumbed to the incitement from Damascus, Tehran and the relay station in Beirut.

187. Our search and patrol missions have tracked terrorists to these villages. They have taken unusual care to place only the minimal restrictions needed to apprehend the terrorists and to uncover their hidden weapons. Let me tell the Council about part of what they found.

188. In the village of Dir Arabiyeh, we uncovered rocket-propelled grenades, anti-tank rockets and two cars packed with explosives. In the village of Burj-Rahhal we found 37 crates with thousands of rounds of ammunition, dozens of hand-grenades, 60 mortar shells and Strela shoulder-fired missiles. In yet another village, that of Kfar Jibshit, we found a huge depot of arms containing over 2,000 detonators, hand-grenades, rifles, machine-guns—even Katyusha rockets.

189. These weapons were clearly intended for use against us. But to judge by the threats made by the fanatics, they were meant to be used against others in Lebanon as well. Countless innocent people would have been murdered and maimed, had we not acted.

190. These fanatics wrap themselves in the mantle of resistance. But their campaign against us began in earnest only after we started our withdrawal. Well, what are they resisting? Our departure?

191. Only a few days ago, my Government began the second phase of our withdrawal to the international border. But the exhortations to violence continue from Tehran, Damascus and Beirut. The Lebanese Government should know that when it joins the company of those who incite terror, it will be held responsible for the consequences.

192. What is the true nature of this so-called resistance? Their targets are not only military, but civilian: they have killed civilians in Lebanon, and they have boasted that they will kill civilians in Israel. They deliberately choose methods such as car bombs, which kill indiscriminately.

193. Besides the indiscriminate killing of their own people, they have made targets of the citizens of the members of this Council. They are the same people who have killed sleeping American and French peace-keepers, who have bombed embassies, office buildings and homes, killing women, children and other non-combatants.

194. In short, they kill everybody; and, as we have seen today, they even want to kill United Nations personnel.

195. Now one of the intended victims of their terror, Israel, has been placed in the dock. Just to be sure that the result in this chamber will be satisfactory to the terrorists, they adopt one final, incredible terrorist tactic: they level threats against a State member of the Security Council. They threaten to murder an American member of the United Nations observer group if the United States does not accept an anti-Israeli draft resolution. Can any doubts be left as to who these people really are, this so-called resistance?

196. Thus, in an attempt to dictate the outcome of our deliberations, terrorists have invaded this chamber. Now it is the Council itself they want to take hostage. This is the ultimate hostage-taking.

197. If the terrorists were to get their way, then who would be next? Which country here might find itself subject to terrorist blackmail in another diplomatic forum? It would be folly, dangerous folly, to let the terrorists prevail.

198. Given its distortion of the situation in Lebanon, this draft resolution [*S/17000*] deserves to be defeated. If member States wish to conduct their affairs without the threat of terrorist blackmail, it must be defeated.

199. I cannot end without directing a few remarks at some of the statements just made at this table—first, the statement by the representative of the Soviet Union.

200. Of the many charges levelled at my country today, I feel this one deserves special attention. The Soviet representative spoke of State-sponsored terrorism; I believe those were his words: State-sponsored terrorism. He should know. It is a subject on which I am sure his Government is well versed. It has, after all, become the foremost practitioner of this art in this generation.

201. The Soviet representative also voiced a special humanitarian concern for the proper international norms, the ethics of the conduct of war. This is particularly curious in light of recent Soviet behaviour in Afghanistan. Now, in Afghanistan there are no hordes of newsmen and television crews. But we do have the testimony of Soviet soldiers who were forced to serve there and later escaped to tell about it. Let us take Private Oleg Khlan, for example. An interview with him appeared in *The Christian Science Monitor* of 10 August 1984. He said this: "We were ordered by our officers that when we attack a village, not one person must be left alive to tell the tale. If we refuse to carry out these orders, we get it in the neck ourselves."

202. If the Soviet representative would like further examples, I shall be happy to supply them. In any case, if he wants to lecture us on international ethics, let him find his first students in the Russian units in the Panshir Valley of Afghanistan.

203. There is one other statement I should like to refer to at this time: one that breaks all records, which just came from the representative of Iran. What can one say after this astonishing, sometimes buffoonish, display from a representative of one of the most unabashed terrorist States of our time? Only that it deserves marks for candour. The Iranian representative does not even pretend. He, like his Government, not only supports terrorism in Lebanon, he incites Member States to fundamentalist fanaticism against another Member State.

204. Thus, we come to a critical test in the life of this body. Terrorism and holy war are brought into the Security Council by Iran. If only a handful of representatives find the courage to speak out against this dual obscenity, this should raise grave concern for the future not only of the United Nations but of the entire international order.

205. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Because of the lateness of the hour, I intend to adjourn this meeting now. There are more than 14 names still left on the list of speakers. As a result of consultations, it has been decided that the Council should meet again on Monday afternoon to continue its discussion of this item. At that meeting we shall hear the representatives who were not able to speak today, and shall then proceed to the vote on the draft resolution.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.

NOTES

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973.

[2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 970 to 973.

[3] Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1915).

[4] *The Holy Koran*, XX: 25-28.

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